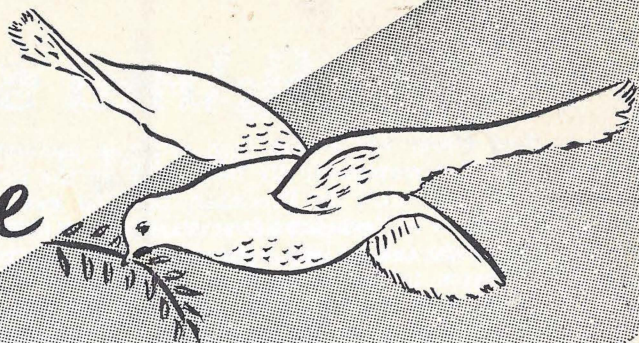
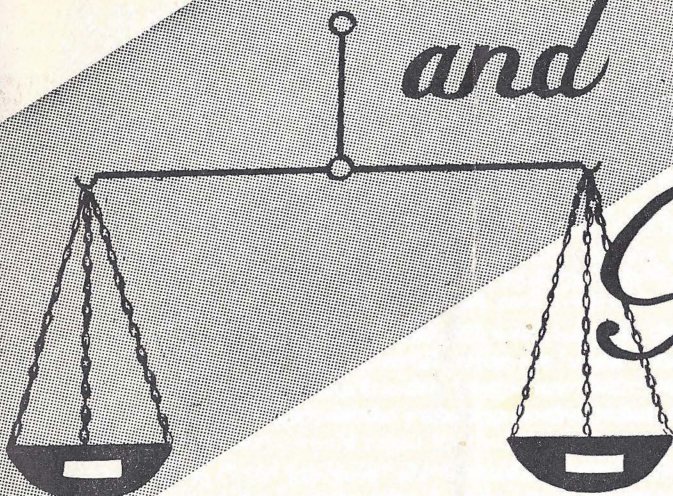


# Peace



# and



# Parity

By Fred Stover

The myth that war, or military spending, brings farm prosperity should now be forever exploded by the classic example provided by the grim realities of 1953, viz.: that the farmers' share of the national income reaches an all-time low at the same time that military spending reaches an all-time high.

Price 15c Each



# Introducing Fred Stover

Fred Stover has always been active in community affairs and in the co-operative movement. He helped set up the Corn-Hog Program under the original AAA. In December, 1933, he was appointed as a farmer-fieldman for 10 North Iowa Counties, and later in 1934 was sent to Michigan and Pennsylvania to direct the program there. In 1939, he was called to Washington to take charge of the Ever Normal Granary program for corn. He drafted the basic rules and regulations for the government's corn storage program as first set up under the 1938 AAA.

After the United States entered World War II, he was named by the Secretary of Agriculture as liaison officer for the U.S. Department of Agriculture War Boards in the 10 North Central States.

In February of 1943, he resigned his position because he saw the tragic need of organizing farmers in the Farmers Union. He became President of the Iowa Farmers Union in 1945.

After the death of Roosevelt, he saw clearly the dangerous reversal of our foreign policy and with it a change in our government's domestic policies as well.

He was the first farm leader to challenge the sliding scale, 60 percent of parity sellout of the Hope-Aiken Bill in 1948.

The Iowa Farmer's Union, under his leadership, started the campaign for 100 percent of parity on all major farm products at their 1948 convention. This was soon followed up by other Farmers Union members in other states, and pressures for legislative action began to build up in Washington.

When Secretary Brannan announced his program in April of 1949, Stover was the first farm leader to publicly give it unqualified endorsement.

In 1950, he was the one farm leader who denounced the Korean War.

On the 3rd of June, 1953, he effectively challenged the proposed scuttling of the grain storage program at a 6-state meeting in Des Moines. At this meeting, Under-Secretary of Agriculture True D. Morse and CCC President John Davis announced the Department's intention to get the government out of the grain storage business. Morse referred to the steel bins as "monuments to stupidity." Stover said they were "monuments to the ingenuity and resourcefulness of farmers and government." Morse and Davis were forced to reverse their position. Bins for an additional 89 million bushels were ordered by CCC.

The attacks against Fred Stover by the pro-war and anti-farm press have been fierce and vicious.

We believe there is a direct relationship between the attacks against him and the accomplishments of the Iowa Farmers Union under his leadership.

We are publishing this pamphlet by Stover because we believe that peace and parity are indivisible, and that real parity, in its broadest sense, can be achieved only within the framework of a world at peace.

IOWA UNION FARMER ASSOCIATION,  
Plaza Hotel Lobby, Des Moines, Iowa.

# Peace and Parity

By Fred Stover

Peace and Parity are the two imperatives for farmers.

They are the two things most farmers are for—just as war and disparity are the two things they are against.

But for all too long, farmers have been cheated out of both because they did not understand that Peace and Parity go together. They are indivisible, just as war and disparity are indivisible.

**The illusion that war and parity go together has fooled many farmers. But farmers are learning fast.**

The hard, economic realities of today can no longer be hidden by any propaganda barrage. The "peace scares" that cause stocks to tumble on the New York stock market do not seem to frighten farmers anymore. For farmers are now seeing a collapse of farm prices while industrial production, prices and profits are at their peak.

When Premier Tommy Douglas of Saskatchewan said, "we are having a collapse of agriculture in the West even while we have industrial prosperity in the East," he could well have been speaking for the United States as well as Canada.

**The myth of war prosperity for farmers has now been exploded by the coincidence of two hard facts. The farmers' share of the national income was smaller in 1953 than for any year since 1932. And the same experts who predicted this early in the year also revealed that war spending, spending for the military, would reach its peak in the summer of 1953.**

If military spending is the cure-all for farmers that it was advertised to be in 1950, then farmers should be in top condition now. But when farm income is at a 20-year low at the very time that they are getting the maximum dose of questionable prosperity medicine, the logic is inescapable that disparity, not parity, goes with war.

## The Trojan Horse Deception

Tragically, however, the very slogan that points the way to farm security was used to detour farmers toward insecurity.

In 1950, the Iowa Farmers Union adopted "Peace and Parity" as their organizing slogan. It was effective even then. In 1952, Eisenhower's managers, wisely perceiving farm sentiment, bid for the farm vote with his pledge to "go to Korea" and his golden promise of "full parity" at Kasson, Minn. It too was effective. To use our slogan, to hold out and promise laudable goals as a political ruse to open the gates for farm reactionaries to move in and put farm incomes on a sliding scale is treachery—the worst kind of treachery.

**For by now it must be clear to all that they have no intention of honoring their campaign pledges. Now the Trojan Horse is in. Benson is in. The device with which they unlocked the gate was Ike's Peace and Parity pledge.**

The financial and industrial Goliaths who own and control nearly all but our family farms now want the election to be interpreted as a mandate







yield averaged 75 bushels per acre, 11 bushels higher than the state average and 23 bushels higher than the average of the farms that kept records for 1951. The 333 lowest income farms in the group actually lost or showed a minus \$1,835.00 management return. The 999 farms were those on which business records were kept in cooperation with Iowa State College.

Extension Farm Economist H. B. Howell made the report August 5th.

The return for livestock feeding on these same farms was also significant. For each \$100.00 feed cost, the livestock return was \$114.00. In 1951 it was \$145.00. The lowest years were 1931 with \$85.00 and 1932 with \$101.00 per \$100.00 of feed.

Bear in mind, these were the more efficient farmers who farm according to the book and get the latest and most up to date information from the College Extension Service. How many of them could survive under Benson's sliding scale program?

With the average parity ratio now at 91 and the "efficient" farmers in Iowa in 1952 barely holding on, how much lower can the parity ratio go before even these above average farmers fold up?

The answer is they will go broke even at present prices if they have just one or two years of lower corn yields. Remember the 1952 corn crop was the best ever.

The net returns from these 999 record-keeping farms reveal something that is not fully revealed, either by the drop in farm prices, the drop in total gross national farm income or the drop in the parity ratio from 122 percent in the Fall of 1946 to 91 percent now (1-54). That is the very sharp and extensive drop in net income. This, of course, would not have been the case if farm costs, industrial prices, had gone down with farm prices.

### **Farm Organizations, Farm Programs, Farm Enemies and Farm Needs**

Farmers need so much to be organized. But they should be organized independently, for themselves, not organized against themselves. They should be organized to protect their interests, not to find excuses for betraying them.

The greatest need for organizing is here in the rich livestock belt.

There is a reason why farmers don't have a livestock program. The livestock farmer is organized against himself, in an organization that plays footsie with the meat packers and other monopolies that fix the prices of the things farmers produce and also with the monopolies that fix the prices of the things farmers must buy. Further, this organization fights the farmers' own customers, the labor unions, who happen to be the natural allies, who can help the family farmers in their struggle for survival.

Instead of teaching farmers that well paid working people are his main market and that rising wages are necessary in a modern machine age because machines do not eat, they endeavor to divide farmers and workers and keep them from taking joint action on the many issues on which their interests coincide.

We are, of course, speaking of the organization that was conceived, nursed and boondoggled by business interests for the purpose of getting cheap food for the benefit of industry and commerce at the expense of farm people, and also to serve as a propaganda agency in the farm field.

### **Victory for Whom?**

When Mr. Wilson of the California Farm Bureau boasted last fall that the election of Eisenhower was a victory for the Farm Bureau, he at the same time forecast lowered farm prices and rising costs.

The Farm Bureau leaders have been faithful to their trust—all of their trusts, packing, milling, oil and farm machinery trusts.

Things that have been of benefit to farmers which interfered with the interests of the trusts have been fought tooth and nail by Farm Bureau leaders and those things which tended to keep farmers tributary to industry and commerce have had the support of the Bureau leaders. They could not have played this role in agriculture, but for the \*initial subsidy from business and then by later identification with the Extension Service which helped them get a measure of respectability, but also untold public appropriations largely in the name of "education."

This kind of "aid"—aid to keep farmers subjugated, aid to keep farmers allied to business interests and prejudiced against labor, will continue even under Benson, who recommends cuts on every other agricultural appropriation save the Farm Bureau's favored Extension Service.

This identification of the Farm Bureau with the Extension Service and other Government agencies has created untold confusion among farmers and too many of them actually think they must belong to the Farm Bureau in order to get consideration in the matter of Government programs.

The tragic irony of it is that while trying to get into a position to receive the benefits of a Government program by joining the Bureau, they are then deluged with propaganda against Government controls and on the immorality and evils of the very programs which have saved them, and which were used to solicit their membership.

We doubt if the record of spreading confusion and misunderstanding and in fact, the outright betrayal of its own membership by this Fifth Column, this Trojan Horse in American agriculture, has ever been equalled anywhere. For it is this "front" for monopoly in agriculture which is inseparably entwined with anti-farm interests in a vicious, anti-social alliance which has been:

- 1) cold bloodedly advocating a program of eliminating from one-half to two-thirds of our farmers in the name of efficiency;
- 2) leading the fight against parity and for sub-parity income legislation;
- 3) leading the effort to get interest rates raised and also the fight to eliminate ceilings over other rising farm costs;

\*The first Farm Bureau was established in the Chamber of Commerce of Binghamton, New York. Boards of Trade, financiers, packers and railroad magnates were quick to see that an easily-controlled farm organization might be built around the County Agents.

The Rockefeller Committee gave more than half a million dollars a year. The Chicago Board of Trade kicked through with a thousand dollars to each of the first county Farm Bureaus. The first to toss money into the hat was the Lackawanna Railroad. (see "The Truth About the Farm Bureau"—Dale Kramer).

Romeo Short, long time Vice President of the A.F.B.F., was a member of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce agricultural committee in 1945 when they came out with their plan of eliminating half or more of the farmers. Short was appointed an assistant to Secretary of Agriculture Benson but resigned because of ill health.



4) leading the campaign to reduce appropriations for farm programs.

It is, in short, a coalition of reactionary business leaders and mis-leaders in agriculture who have formed an economic and political compact for the expropriation of family type farmers.

### The Anti-Farm Barrage

Today, all the heavy artillery in their propaganda arsenals has been turned loose against our farm price support program. They know as well as we do that we are living in a legislated economy, that farm prices have been and largely will be made in Washington. Our entire economic life is shot through with subsidies and artificial or self-applied limitations on competition. Government aid, subsidies to business of one kind or another, direct or indirect, are colossal. The costs of all farm price support programs have been and are insignificant. Yet our farm price support program has been singled out and pilloried as the one horrid example of government interference in our economy. Their attitude reflects a callous indifference to the farm situation in an economy where nearly every segment is protected by some Government device. Today, this coalition has the support of the far-flung Department of Agriculture under Benson. Instead of parity, Benson offers us piety. Instead of strengthened programs, he offers us "freedom", freedom from the very programs that have and can save us.

### "Spur of Insecurity"—Benson

It is strange, indeed, that the security which endangers freedom, which suppresses incentive, is always the security of farmers, workers and independent businessmen. One never hears that such sad results issue from the security of corporations, from the free flowing of profits. No, it takes something like a real break for the people, like a 40 hour week or parity for farmers, to put "freedom" in peril.

### The Step Child — Its Needs

Agriculture for a century has been the step child of the American economy. Farmers have been deliberately sacrificed to the commercial and industrial development of the country. Farm income, the income from performance of the most essential service the country demands—the production of food—has averaged less than one-half that of non-farm people. As a result, the health of farm people is notoriously worse than that of non-farm people, erosion and loss of soil fertility are taking a disastrous toll, and the pressures in the direction of large-scale, corporation, farming are becoming stronger. This situation, and the plainly evident trends it has brought about, can be remedied only by a new and comprehensive federal farm program, based on the following:

1. The setting by agreement of the prices of farm products in advance of the production season and at a level which will permit a net farm income, and living standards and hours of work comparable to that of the non-farm population, with provisions, in case and to the extent that market place returns do not measure up to these standards, for supplementary production payments at public expense.

2. Participation should be voluntary but conditioned upon farmers' practices in erosion control and soil fertility building which should be financed at public expense until past damage has been corrected.

3. The benefits of this program should be limited to family type farms and farmers. Large scale corporate farm enterprises should be excluded from participation as a matter of public policy to the end that such large holdings will be broken up and sold to family type operators.

We believe that only through such a comprehensive openhanded program can atonement be made for past injuries to farm people, land abandonment prevented, a reduction in farm population to dangerously low levels avoided, and the food supply for an increasing population assured through the establishment of a permanent high-production agriculture.

4. Where large scale production is advisable, cooperative techniques with local ownership and management, should be encouraged. A vastly expanded program of low-cost credit to assist tenants, sharecroppers and returned veterans to become farm owners and operators is needed. For those farmers whose farms are so small or whose resources are so limited that they do not yield an adequate family income, supplementary employment on conservation or public works projects should be provided.

5. Lastly, farmers need an economic foundation on which a healthy agriculture can be built. That means a domestic program of full production and employment at good wages and a world food program that provides an adequate diet for all the people. It calls for an economy of abundance, publicly, democratically planned, instead of an economy of scarcity under corporate dictatorship privately planned. It means moving away from an acquisitive, exploitative society, that rewards men according to what they wrest from society, and towards a creative, cooperative society that rewards men according to what they contribute to society.

### Clarity on Parity

Unless we have clarity on parity

It will become a rarity,

And regarded as charity.

Parity is a standard commonly used to give farmers the same relative prices or incomes as during some previous period, when prices received and prices paid by farmers were considered to be in reasonable balance. Congress first gave recognition to the parity concept in 1933 in the Agricultural Adjustment Act. This Act, among other things, declared that it was the policy of Congress to re-establish prices to farmers at a level that will give agricultural commodities a purchasing power with respect to articles that farmers buy, equivalent to the purchasing power of agricultural commodities in the base period.

The base period used were the five years, from August, 1909 to August, 1914. For some commodities for which sufficient price data was not available during those five years, later periods have been used. This parity concept has been an important guidepost in price support operations and has also been used in determining price ceilings. It must be pointed out that parity prices do not always accurately reflect production costs for particular commodities. Some refinement of parity figures for special commodities in line with actual production costs and away from historic base figures is justified. However, the present drive against the parity formula is not a drive to refine it or to obtain a more accurate standard for measurement, but a drive to eliminate the parity idea entirely. The Farm Foundation, which seems to be the fountainhead of reaction for agriculture, has urged



the junking of the whole parity concept that has been used as a guide since the first farm legislation beginning in 1933.

### The Automatic Built-in Balancer

But the idea of hitching farm prices to farm costs as in the parity concept is something that farmers must hold to tenaciously if they are not to be bankrupted between high fixed costs and the flexible sliding scale planned for them.

When it is understood that the parity concept is a statistical means of hitching farm prices to farm costs and that it is an automatic built-in balancing mechanism, then the nonsense about the flexible sliding scale stands revealed for what it is—a treacherous plot to slide farm prices and incomes down, while permitting prices paid by farmers to remain fixed at an all-time high.

In other words, 100 per cent of parity, instead of being high and rigid, will always be just as flexible as the general price level because farm costs which determine parity reflect the general price level. There is much more than a few dollars and cents involved in parity, and that is a principle that cannot be compromised. There is room for compromise on how to refine the relationship between farm commodities, or the base period to be used, and also on the best method of achieving it with regard to type of program, procedures, etc., but the flexible sliding scale is a treacherous sell-out. Some farmers support it because they do not understand it, but the main architects and advocates do understand it. The treachery can be better understood when it is remembered that the 60 per cent of parity floor the sliding scale crowd has recommended compares with the all-time low of the worst depression years. During 1931 to 1932 the average parity ratio was 59.9 per cent without any price support. The average parity for the four worst years—1930 to 1934—was 66 per cent.

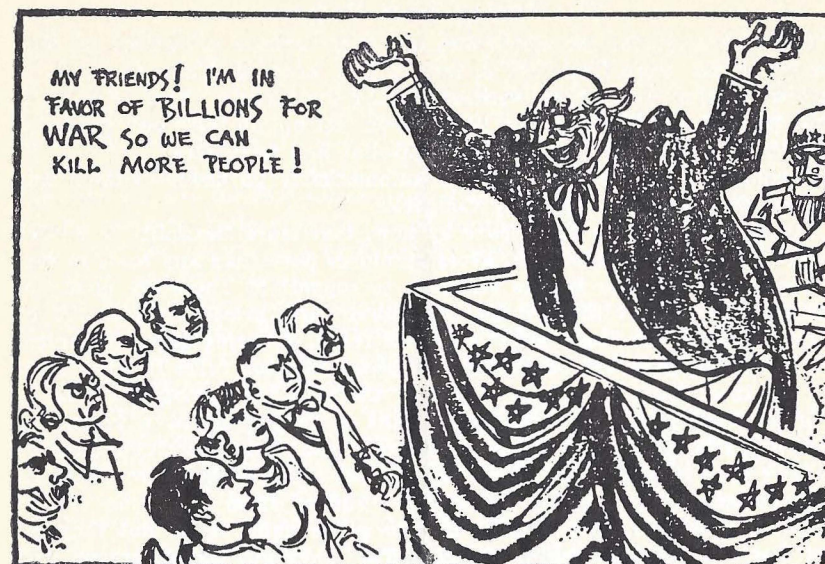
### How Parity Is Figured

The parity ratio is figured by dividing the index of prices received by farmers by the index of prices paid by farmers. For example, the index of prices received by farmers in July, 1947, was 276, while the index of prices paid, including interest and taxes, was 231. This, of course, is figured on the basis of the 1910-14 period being 100. Therefore when we divide 276 by 231, we get 1.19, or in other words, during July of 1947, farmers received 119 per cent of parity.

The parity price for any given commodity is figured each month by the Department of Agriculture, by taking the average price during the base period and multiplying it by the index of prices paid by farmers, including interest and taxes. For example, the average price for wheat during the base period (1910-14) was 88.4 cents per bushel. On July 15, 1947, the prices paid index was 231 percent of the base period. Therefore the parity price for wheat, July 15, 1947, was 88.4 times 231, or \$2.04 per bushel. The parity price for other commodities is figured the same way.

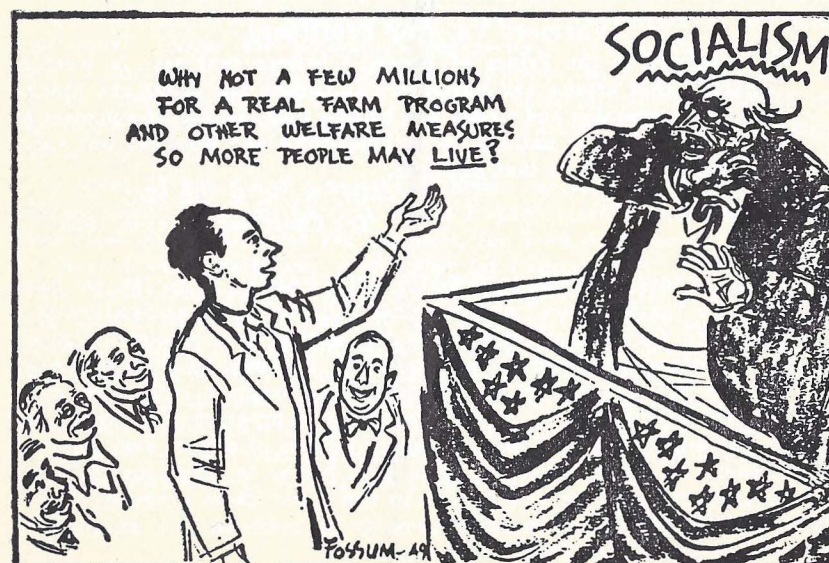
The average price for corn during the base period was 64.2c per bushel. The July 1947 parity figure for corn, therefore, was  $64.2 \times 231$  which equals \$1.48. The parity figure for corn now is  $64.2 \times 278$  or \$1.78. (1947 is used because it was the high net income year for agriculture).

Changes in parity figures from month to month are due to changes in prices paid by farmers. The "prices paid" index is based upon prices for



180 items, 86 of which are used in farm family living, and 94 are used in farm production. This index is combined with interest on farm real estate and taxes on farm real estate to obtain the index of prices paid, including interest and taxes.

This is to make it very clear that parity prices go up and down with prices paid by farmers. If other prices drop, the farm parity figure will drop; if they go up, the farm parity figure will go up also.





## The Sliding Scale Ballyhoo

The spokesmen for the monopolies and their lackeys in agriculture who are crying for more flexibility in farm prices, know well how to get it, if they want it, on a fair basis without hurting the farmers. That is to try a little price flexing, on a sliding scale, down, not up, on their own products, on items such as machinery, repairs, gasoline and fertilizers.

Then the farm parity figures will automatically go down—without any action, or special legislation by Congress.

The argument, worn threadbare by now, that more flexibility is needed to get shifts in production and avoid surpluses never had any basis in fact nor any farm price or income statistics to support it. There are plenty of statistics to support the reverse, that lower farm prices are followed by farm surpluses. The one "shift" that will result in slicing 25 to 40 percent off the parity goal will be shifting thousands of good farm families right off the land. This, of course, is exactly the shift the monopolies seek.

If lowering prices were the ideal means of getting shifts in production then it is strange that the big manufacturers who recommend it for farmers haven't tried it themselves. They have needed to make much greater shifts in production than farmers. They have shifted from producing civilian goods to war goods and back to civilian goods quite often. But they get not less pay, but more pay for such shifts. They get war contracts, with sales and profits guaranteed and also fast tax-writeoffs.

Obviously they want one rule for farmers and another rule for industry.

Another argument, equally threadbare by now, is the cliché that 100 percent of parity is, or would lead to socialism.

If 100 percent of parity is socialism, what is 60 percent of parity?

If 100 percent of parity is socialism, isn't 60 percent of parity 60 percent socialism?

If 100 percent of parity is red, what color is 60 percent of parity?

## Farmers Vs. War Profiteers

"I believe in the Prince of Peace. I believe that war is murder. I believe that armies and navies are at bottom the tinsel and braggadocio of oppression and wrong and believe that the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations white and stronger but fore-shadows the death of that strength."

—Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

The Churchman, March, 1953

The title of this pamphlet is "PEACE AND PARITY." So far, we have discussed the "parity issue," showing that full parity for agriculture is a necessity both for agriculture and for the nation as a whole. Of much greater importance, however, is foreign policy. It should be obvious to anyone that we will never have an adequate farm program, slum clearance, river valley development or a soil conservation program as long as we pursue a foreign policy that means flinging billions of dollars over the face of the earth for armaments and as political bribes to kings and military dictators. Conversely, we will be able to win a real farm program, higher living standards and constructive projects to promote full employment only within the framework of world peace.

## War Is Subversive

War itself—hot or cold, declared or undeclared—is the greatest enemy of mankind and progress. It destroys the finest hopes and aspirations of humanity. War devitalizes Christianity. It intimidates preachers, scholars and writers. War exalts fanaticism, jingoism and bigotry. It elevates hate as the highest emotion. It intensifies the very evils it pretends to eliminate. It appeals to the lowest instincts of mankind. **Indeed, war and people who advocate war are the real subversives of today, subversives who are undermining decency, rationality, love and brotherhood.**

Our position on war is a yardstick by which our progress beyond primitive tribes can be measured.

**Two-thirds of the world's population lives in slavery to hunger, disease and general poverty. War worsens these conditions, to say nothing of the outright death for the millions who might be in the path of exploding atom bombs or burning jellied gasoline.**

In recent American history, war has resulted in vast profiteering\* for the giant monopolies and munitions makers. This means, too, that the hands of the political reactionaries have been strengthened. For they utilize war hysteria to divert the public while they secretly take over the reins of government. It was no accident that the Brannan Plan was the first farm casualty of the Korean War. It is no accident that REA and TVA are being attacked by the military minded administration in Washington as "creeping socialism." It is no accident that a national sales tax, which soaks the poor who have to spend all they earn and spares the rich who save and invest most of their income, is being seriously proposed in Washington. It is no accident that our national resources are being plundered for private profit under the present Administration. These reactionary developments are but the domestic counterpart of the cold and hot wars in which we are engaged.

The industrial monopolies and war profiteers also look upon a war economy as their way of preventing a depression. The April 22, 1949 issue of U.S. News and World Report stated frankly: "Armaments is the great new pump primer for permanent prosperity." This explains why the monied interests of America are afraid of peace, why the stock markets tumble whenever there is talk of peace. It is significant that before the fighting in Korea was stopped there was the assurance from General Motors'

\*I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our Marine Corps. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for Capitalism . . . Thus I helped make Mexico safe for the American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenue. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American Republics for the benefit of Wall Street. I helped purify Nicaragua for the International banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went on its way unmolested. I was rewarded with honors, medals and promotion.

—Maj. Gen. Smedley Butler,  
November, 1935.



Secretary of Defense Wilson that a cease-fire would not mean curtailment of war orders.

### Big Brass, Errand Boys for Big Money

Along with the enthronement of "Big Money" in time of war, we also see the elevation of the "Big Brass" as the favored errand boys and spokesmen for "Big Money." In many cases "Big Brass" and "Big Money" are one and the same. Just now we hear fervent pleas from the Big Brass to saddle the American people with an un-American system of Universal Military Training. We have recently heard General MacArthur attack the principle of civilian control over the military as a "dangerous concept," a complete reversal of traditional American policy. Almost daily, we see some high General or Admiral rush into print with a jingoistic statement designed to increase hate and international suspicion. Recently, the Air Force sent a bombing plane on a "weather mission" within 25 miles of the Russian coast, an action that caused Republican Senator Flanders to charge the Air Force with conducting "psychological warfare against the American people" to soften them up for still more serious incidents and finally for war itself.

### War Ruins Farmers

War is especially subversive to the security and welfare of family farmers. The notion that war brings farm prosperity and peace depression is a dangerous illusion that must be stripped of its deceptive coverings.

Certainly there are plenty of surface manifestations, statistics and price and income charts to prove that farm prices and incomes do rise at the time of beginning a major military conflict. But it is not the war itself—not the killing that raises farm prices. Dead soldiers, like dead civilians, do not eat. The more people killed the less market for food. So the killing business limits rather than expands markets or customers for the farmers' production. (See, *Why We Have Depressions*, page 30.)

Then why is it that farm prices go up when war is started?

It is because of rapid government buying and stockpiling of food for ourselves and our allies, of government orders for many other things, of government planning, financing and spending for increased production, for full employment. It is because during war reserves are considered an asset while in peacetime, reserves, even storable reserves, are regarded, unfortunately, as a liability.

Instead of war being a solution to farm problems it is the main cause of our major farm problems.

Instead of the war, hot or cold, expanding farmers' markets, the reverse is now true.

Because of the cold war about one-half of the people of the world have been put on a political blacklist and are not buyers of either our agricultural or industrial production. The other half of the world is being forced to spend their shrinking trade balances and credits for military equipment instead of for food.

Our domestic market is curtailed by the price-wage-profit squeeze on workers who have to pay a large part of their wages in tax deductions for war, and an all-time high price for living costs, including food, of which the farmer now gets a much smaller share than before.

The war program is used not only as an excuse for drafting farmers but for the whole Chamber of Commerce, Farm Bureau program of eliminating about half of our farmers.

Likewise the problem of sharply increased taxes and higher interest rates are directly attributable to the war program.

The curtailment and scuttling of farm programs, including our price support and storage programs, A.C.P., R.E.A. and M.V.A. are all proposed on the basis that the funds are needed for the war effort.

In 1950 the Korean war was the excuse for abandoning the campaign for the Brannan Farm Plan.

Finally, the war hysteria and the reactionary political atmosphere created by it, not only makes it more difficult to organize farmers in support of sound land policies, but is all too often used to divide farmers and to alienate them from their natural allies the laboring people.

### Must There Be a Cold War With Russia and China?

Day and night the American people are bombarded with propaganda to make us believe that war with Russia and China is inevitable. The whole foreign policy of the government was based on the assumption that "the Soviets were intending and planning the military conquest of Europe, and later the world." It was upon this assumption that the Truman Doctrine of "containing communism" was founded. Then came the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. These were plans to organize the people and the economies of Europe into a vast military organization, financed and directed mainly by the United States, which would bear the brunt of the war and stand between the Russians and the United States.

The propagandists for war were not deterred one bit when such military men as General Gruenther would occasionally admit that there was no danger now, or that there probably never would be any danger, that the Russians would attack. Or the words of Admiral Hillenkoeter, Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, that "signs of offensive war with Russia in the foreseeable future were completely lacking."

Never-the-less it is necessary to look into some of the reasons given by the war propagandists as to why there will be, or should be, a war between the United States and Russia and China.

It is necessary because with war propaganda creating more and more hysteria, and hysteria pressing for more and more weapons of war, the time might come when a group of war-crazed men, willing to touch off an A-bomb and H-bomb war which would nearly destroy the world, would finally have the reins of government in their hands and give orders to pull the trigger.

The propagandists for war with Russia and China, in addition to saying that these countries are planning to make war on us, also claim it would be well for the U. S. to make war on them, to "liberate" them from a situation in which they do not enjoy the civil liberties guaranteed the people of the United States by our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution.

The falseness of this argument is revealed when we see these same men ready to take such "democratic allies" as Spain's dictator Franco, Peron of Argentina, Chiang Kai-shek, ex-feudal dictator of China, Syngman Rhee,



dictator of Korea, and any other adventurer willing to pull off a military coup d'etat at the instigation of the U. S. state department.

### The War in Korea

The trump card of those who advocate war is the argument that Russia and China are "aggressors." Then they point their finger at Korea. But those who shout so loudly about "aggression" in Korea have been strangely silent when the Dutch used U. S. arms for aggression in Indonesia several years ago. They have been strangely silent about military putches in South America and in the Middle East. Whenever it is the reactionaries and fascists who use force and violence to overthrow a government, there is no objection, the classic example of which is our "democratic ally," Franco, who certainly was the aggressor in the Spanish Civil War and who aided Hitler and Mussolini in World War II.

But to date no evidence has been presented to support the charge of aggression against South Korea, while there is a mountain of evidence pointing to Syngman Rhee as the aggressor. When all the evidence is weighed it not only shows that some American leaders connived with Rhee, but that the whole "police action" had "Made in U. S. A." stamped all over it. It certainly is clear that Truman's action did not have the prior consent of either our Congress or of the United Nations.

The only evidence he had was a telegram from the U.N. Commission, in Seoul which reported the fighting on the 38th parallel. This telegram did not name North Korea as the aggressor but instead reported that both sides charged each other with starting the fighting. Truman used this as a pretext for sending American boys to South Korea and the Navy to Formosa. The U. N. Security Council later approved the Korean action but never approved Truman's unilateral intervention on Formosa.

The charge of "aggression" in Korea came mainly from Syngman Rhee. This was the basis for sending our boys to die in Korea under the banner of the United Nations. However, Rhee's representative to the United Nations, Ben C. Limb, admitted that South Korea not only started the war but that the U. S. was committed "black on white" to join Rhee if he again marched north. Limb admitted this on a telecast over Channel 7, WABC-TV New York outlet, October 19th, 1953, on the program called "Junior Press Conference." The program originated in Philadelphia. Few papers carried the story so the public is not yet aware of the facts.

Further, if Russia had planned the Korean War for the North Koreans, as is often charged, why should they be so stupid as to start the war at a time when Russia was boycotting the Security Council of the United Nations over the seating of Red China and thus was not in a position to use its veto. If the Russians and Chinese had planned the Korean War, it seems strange that the Chinese did not enter the war immediately to achieve a complete victory for the North Koreans. Instead, Red China entered the war only when MacArthur sent troops right to the border of China to seize important power plants on the Yalu River, and after MacArthur had permitted U. S. planes to "accidentally" drop bombs in China proper. Would not the people of the U. S. go to war if an unfriendly power were marching north through Mexico up to Texas and if planes were "accidentally" dropping bombs inside the U. S. border?

### The Real Reason for the Cold War

We have examined the arguments of the advocates of war against Russia and China, and we have found their arguments wanting. Their arguments are a tissue of falsehoods, hate and propaganda without sensible logic.

We believe there is a sensible logic to the cold war, a logic that is never talked about and carefully hidden from the eyes of the American people.

Regardless of faults or virtues of the Russian or Chinese system of government, one gigantic fact stands out in both of these countries. Both of these countries have placed resources and industrial property under government ownerships. As a result, the world financial interests who held stocks and bonds against Russian resources under the Czar suddenly woke up to find their stocks and bonds were worthless. For example, one of the big investors in Russian oil and timber under the Czar was Herbert Hoover, who today is a leading advocate of the cold war program. Only through a "war of liberation" as advocated by John Foster Dulles, will it be possible for the U. S. financed interests to again clip coupons and live in luxury from their stocks and bonds against Russian resources. When these financiers talk about the need for "freedom behind the Iron Curtain" they really mean freedom to exploit Russia's resources and freedom to collect dividends on the worthless stocks and bonds they now hold.

### Who Are the Appeasers?

Once we discover the real reason for the cold war, we unlock explanations to many other happenings during the past 30 years. Then, we can see why U. S., Britain, France, Japan and other nations secretly carried on an undeclared war against the new Russian government in 1920 and 1921 and why U. S. troops were in Siberia during this undeclared "police action" without the consent of Congress and almost without knowledge of the American people. But because the people of western Europe were not in sympathy with this intervention the various governments were forced to stop their war against Russia and bring their troops home.\*

Next we saw the coming to power in Europe of a group whose philosophy was expressed in the words of its fanatical, rug-chewing military leader, Adolph Hitler: "Mankind has grown strong in eternal struggles, and will only perish through eternal peace."

Heavily financed by the world's largest financial interests, including Wall Street firms in the United States, the Nazi regime was the absolute

\*By the summer of 1919, without any declaration of war, the armed forces of Great Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Italy, United States, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, China, Finland, Greece, Poland, Rumania and Turkey had invaded the territory of Soviet Russia. In regard to U. S. participation in this undeclared invasion by U. S. troops, Senator Borah, on August 5, 1919, arose in the Senate and declared:

"Mr. President, we are not at war with Russia; Congress has not declared war against the Russian government or the Russian people. The people of the United States do not desire to be at war with Russia . . . Yet, while we are not at war with Russia, while Congress has not declared war, we are carrying on war with the Russian people. We have an army in Russia; we are furnishing munitions and supplies to other armed forces in that country, and we are just as thoroughly engaged in conflict as though constitutional authority had been invoked, a declaration of war had been made, and the nation had been called to arms for the purpose . . ."



rule by violence and terror of Germany's military caste, the Junkers and big landowners, the trusts and cartels.

### **Dulles and Dulles**

Germany's financial affairs in the U. S. were looked after by one of the country's wealthiest law firms, Sullivan and Cromwell, whose chief figures were the brothers Dulles, John Foster and Allen. Sullivan and Cromwell is the general counsel for the New York Schroeder Bank which is closely tied to the Schroeder Bank in London and the Schroeder Bank in Cologne, Germany. The Schroeder Bank was one of the main supporters of Hitler. In 1939 TIME magazine called it "an economic booster for the Rome-Berlin Axis." A Dulles partner sits on the board of directors of the bank.

### **The Real Nazi Aims**

Once firmly in power the aggressive and expansionist aims of the Nazis were open and unconcealed. Hitler began to threaten his neighbors in preparation for his announced war against the Russians (Drang Nach Osten). He demanded a chunk of Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain of England and Daladier of France flew to Munich to put their O.K. on the sell-out. Sumner Welles, who from within the State Department had inside knowledge of what took place wrote: "The agreements of Munich confirmed the convictions of the Soviet government that the Western powers strove to keep Germany from the west only by turning her to the east." (—Time for Decision, p. 322 by Welles)

The high political priests and financiers in Europe, and in the U. S. also, reasoned that when Hitler marched east to kill Russians it would not only make possible the complete collapse of the Soviet government but it would also undermine the Germans and weaken them, so that they could once again be "put in their place."

Then the big monied industrialists and monied men in England, France, the U. S. and other countries could take full advantage of the situation.

### **Appeasement's Master Minds**

Dulles himself was chosen to represent all New York Banks when he went to Berlin in 1933 and made a deal that gave Hitler's government one billion dollars and established credit Hitler needed for his rearmament program.

Most farmers are not aware of Dulles' past, but now since he is Secretary of State it is necessary to look into it and see the record of the one who is now directing U. S. foreign policy.

They should also look into the record of Allen Dulles who heads the Central Intelligence Agency with its far-flung, world spy system known as "project x". Shrouded in mystery "project x" makes no accounting of the millions it spends for its army of "cloak and dagger" operatives scattered over the face of the globe.

England and France fought Hitler only after it became evident that it was not only the Russians but the whole world the Nazi butchers intended to bring under their control. The point we wish to make here is that Munich was not only a sellout of a weak country by England and France enabling Hitler to have an open hand for war on the Russians, but it was also a sellout of their own people.

### **"Quarantine the Aggressors"**

One of the Russian leaders put the Munich deal this way: "The plan of the British reactionaries is to sacrifice the small states of Southeastern Europe to German Fascism so as to direct Germany eastward—against the U. S. S. R. . . . but the British are digging their own graves with their predatory plans.

Roosevelt, too, warned the world against Hitler when he called for action to "quarantine the aggressor." It might be recalled here also that the main attacks in the big business press against Roosevelt came, after he made his "quarantine the aggressor" speech in Chicago, Oct. 5, 1937.

It is necessary to show the relationship between Mr. Dulles and the policies he pursues, and the appeasement of Hitler, because today there is much talk about "appeasement." It is the very same gang who appeased Hitler and aided him to make war on mankind, who today are crying the loudest about "appeasing" the Russians. They are the advocates of the cold war, and in their capacity as policy makers in the government are appeasing every dictator in the world, including Rhee, Chiang, Franco, and the old Nazi gang in Germany in an effort to line up a bloc of nations to carry out the original aim of Hitler and Munich to "war against Russia."

The so-called "isolationists" of the 1930's, who wanted to give Hitler free rein in his march to the east, are today the interventionists who station U. S. troops all over the world for the next try—World War III.

### **Reversal of Roosevelt's Policies**

The new Munich policies advocated by John Foster Dulles, who dictated foreign policy to Truman as well as to Eisenhower, are a complete reversal of the Good Neighbor policies under Franklin Roosevelt. These new men of Munich are interested in profits and exploitation, not in the welfare of people. They seek to extend their investments all over the world and to milk these investments dry, leaving the people to live in hunger and disease. Consequently, we are reaping hatred all over the world for the foreign policy imposed upon us by Dulles and the financial interests he represents.

It is indeed strange that a nation that fought for freedom under George Washington should today be the most powerful force on earth to perpetuate colonialism and absentee exploitation by foreign monopolies. It is indeed strange that a nation that has prided itself in internal democracy is today furnishing the armaments to perpetuate "white man's rule" in colonial areas. It is strange that a nation that fought a civil war under Lincoln to eradicate the plantation system with slavery in favor of the family type farm is today using guns and bribes to maintain regimes in power throughout the world that are based on feudal agriculture. This entire betrayal of all we have stood for in the past is justified, so the argument goes, in the name of opposing communism, in the name of furthering the cold war against Russia and China. Boiled down, this betrayal is perpetuated so that Wall Street investors can collect dividends on worthless Czarist stocks and bonds.

### **Worthless German Bonds**

During the recent session of Congress, a bill was passed providing that holders of Wiemar German bonds will be paid off 100 cents on the dollar



plus 5½ per cent interest. Most holders of these bonds had written them off as a bad investment; but now this bill was pushed through Congress and the U. S. taxpayers will foot a bill of between one and two billion dollars to reimburse the financiers who bought these bonds. Textbooks on economics say that interest on bonds and dividends on stock are partly a payment for "risk" in case the stocks or bonds prove worthless; but when taxpayers are forced to bear the "risk," traditional economics are found inapplicable.

This bill to pay off the worthless German bonds is another example of the new economics of "socializing the losses and individualizing the gains." It is also an example of the powerful pressures from business circles to get their money out of worthless stocks and bonds; and so it should be no surprise, that these same interests are organizing to capitalize on their now worthless stocks and bonds held from the days of Czarist Russia.

### Construction, Not Destruction

After examining present U. S. foreign policy, one conclusion is inescapable. For our own part, we Americans will have to retire the Munich minded people headed by John Foster Dulles, who control our State Department. As long as Dulles is head of our State Department and as long as he openly calls for a "war of liberation" against Russia, there can be little hope of expecting Russia and China of agreeing to national suicide on Dulles' terms.

Just as getting rid of Ezra Benson as Secretary of Agriculture is important from the standpoint of achieving parity for farmers, so getting rid of Dulles and his followers is important from the standpoint of achieving peace. Both men are hopeless reactionaries, each leading toward complete disaster in his respective fields. New policies are needed—policies of negotiation of real differences, policies of encouragement to peoples who want to throw off foreign rule as we did in 1776, and policies of mutual trade in goods and services for the benefit of living standards of people.

There are those who fear that if world tensions were relieved and the road opened for a peaceful settlement of world problems that a devastating depression would sweep the country, because preparing for war has now become our nation's major industry. Actually such fears are groundless as vast public works for the people can be developed to provide peacetime jobs for those thrown out of employment as production for war recedes.

During the depression of the 30's, a pump priming program was begun to add to the purchasing power of the people so that the wheels of industry could turn. Again, now in the 1950's a practical solution to preventing a depression is a new program for constructive purposes rather than for the wasteful and destructive purpose of building a military machine.

With a gigantic program for schools, roads, hospitals, flood control, aids to education and recreation, slum clearance and a real farm program, the United States could open new avenues toward welfare and at the same time provide the necessary purchasing power among the people to prevent a depression. Instead of borrowing the money for these projects from the bankers and thus increasing the national debt, the government should levy a new and stiffer excess profits tax and thus put the excess profits of our monopolies back into circulation where these monies belong.

The choice before America is welfare or warfare, atomic blessing or atomic blasting. The choice is a wasteful war program with constantly declining standards of living as taxes and inflation eat away people's income or a constructive program for improving our communities and for keeping buying power in circulation. A certain amount of government planning is here to stay; and the question is: Will it be used for construction or destruction?

### A Vision for a New Era

Now with atomic energy man has within his power the possibility of wiping out all life on this planet. But man also faces the challenge to use this atomic power for good, to create a new era, an era so dazzling that all advances in the past will dwindle into insignificance.

Atomic energy gives mankind the power to move mountains, to lift the burden of toil off the backs of millions of people, to release the common people the world over from hunger and poverty and to transform the earth into a land of abundance and security.

All that stands between us and the achievement of this promise is the fear and greed and hate of a handful who put private profit above the public welfare. That is why they spread lies and hatreds about people in other lands. They know that with truth comes understanding and with understanding comes love and with love comes an end to hatred and fear and the enthronement of reason in human affairs.

### The Political Record on Peace and Parity

Twice since the beginning of the cold war, the people have voted for peace and parity. Twice they were tricked by campaign demagoguery. There is nothing on the land or under the sea as slippery as an election promise unless the voters nail it down and keep the candidates clinched to the issue. Eisenhower's 1952 Peace and Parity campaign has already been mentioned. Some may want to give him the benefit of the doubt, or more time to bridge the gap between promise and performance.

His appointment of Dulles and Benson removed all doubt for many Americans. Most of them will give him credit for the truce in Korea. But if he lets Dulles have his way, and he continues to appease Syngman Rhee and the China Lobby we will not have real peace.

And most assuredly Eisenhower cannot be so politically naive as to believe that his "golden promise" of full parity will be carried out by appointing officials and Farm Commission members who are and have been committed against a Government program for parity, or even 90 percent of parity.

To make the lame excuse and explanation, that some have made for him, that he did not mean parity by means of government programs is no answer. Why did he as a candidate for President make the parity pledge at all if he as President was not to be instrumental in achieving parity? Further, most farmers don't care whether they get parity with or without a government program. If Ike can induce the packers and millers to pay the farmer parity, well and good.

But from all the speeches that Benson and his aides have been making, there will be no full parity program drafted by them.

They are bemoaning farm "surpluses" and their only solution is to force farmers to reduce production by way of giving them the poverty treatment—



lower prices until they quit producing. They know very well that this will result, not in disposing of farm production, but of farmers.

**Instead of a Brannan Plan to dispose of farm surpluses we have a Benson Plan to dispose of surplus farmers. Neither is in surplus. Only political reaction is in surplus.**

To rant about surplus food when one of the world's major problems is getting enough food, and when we don't even have adequate reserves or diets for ourselves is not only a reflection on American ingenuity but also anti-humanitarian.

### Promise Vs. Performance

Whatever farmers get out of this Administration will be in proportion to what they are organized to demand. The wide gap between the promises and performance of the Truman Administration is a matter of record. His promises on Peace and Parity were more vague and are mostly forgotten.

A prominent Iowa REA official who was an acquaintance of Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior under Roosevelt, has told a story about a conversation Ickes had with Truman in 1948. Truman, reportedly, told Ickes that he didn't think he could win the election and that he didn't know what to campaign on. Ickes told him that the people had just had a convention in Philadelphia, (meaning the Progressive Party Convention) and that if he would campaign on that platform he would be elected.

Some will recall Truman's proposal for sending Judge Vinson to see Stalin, his reference to the "gluttons of privilege in Wall Street" and also his crack that the GOP "stuck a pitchfork in the farmer's back."

Truman's impulsive "police action" is well known. Instead of sending Vinson to Stalin to make peace, he sent Dulles and MacArthur to Syngman Rhee to make war.

The gluttons of privilege in Wall Street he moved to the Pentagon and the State Department. The pitchfork is still in the same place. His record on farm parity is not well known. The 60 percent of parity Hope-Aiken Bill was from a GOP Congress, but Truman endorsed it, as did his Secretary of Agriculture.

### Sub-Parity Ceilings or Parity Floors

In 1950 the Truman Administration was nearly successful in short-changing farmers by sub-parity ceilings in place of parity floors. This was an amendment to the Defense Production Act which would permit CCC to sell holdings at the loan rate when the support price was not below the market price for such commodity. This provision, however, was taken out by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee when it reported the Bill.

Early in 1951 when it was predicted that industrial prices would go higher in view of the stepped up military spending, Truman asked Congress to freeze farm parity figures at the beginning of the year and keep them at that figure even though other prices continued to soar during the other eleven months of the year. Conceivably, farm prices and farm parity figures might be only 80 percent of true parity at the end of the year when farm crops would go to market.

In 1950, Vice President Barkley let it be known that he and the Administration were "not committed to the Brannan Plan."

### Times Too Political?

In 1952 Brannan himself at the Agricultural hearings in Washington was not in favor of pushing for parity supports for perishables. The newspapers reported him as saying that this was not the time because "the times are too political."

The otherwise well informed Secretary should know that the "times" will become more political, not less, if the farm disparity continues.

These things are pointed out because if the record is forgotten, too many may conclude that the solution or the alternative to the Benson program is simply to wait until 1956 and vote the Democrats back into power.

We perceive that some Democrats would prefer not to have farmers get a parity program under the Republicans.

Some of them, instead of being afraid that the Republicans will not deliver farm parity are actually afraid that they will. Farmers must remember that parity is not partisan, and that it matters not what label is placed on a real farm program. Those who have their eyes on winning elections for Party jobs instead of a real farm program are flirting recklessly with the security of thousands of farmers. Many of them may not survive until 1956 when they may again be tricked by campaign oratory. We are certain that farmers will receive parity from either the Republican or the Democratic Party only if there is a strong, independent, organized effort demanding it.

### War and Depression Parties

Many voters are coming to the conclusion that the Democratic Party is the war party and the Republican party is the depression party. This is not correct. While some Republicans call the Korean War the Truman War, because they are aware of the people's revulsion against it, the fact remains that the whole war program, hot or cold, was a bipartisan program. This is evidenced by the fact that the altogether un-American China Lobby has its roots deep into both parties and that the chief architect of world reaction, Dulles, has been giving the signals for both Truman and Eisenhower. Further, the betrayal of much that we fought for in World War II as regards Western Europe and particularly Germany, has had the support and collaboration of both parties. And this support is not limited to some of the race-hating pro-fascist Dixiecrats of our South. It includes men who have been promenading as the great liberal leaders of the Democratic Party. Some of them "talk" a good line on many domestic measures but on foreign affairs have a record so bad that it makes the late Bob Taft's record look good in comparison. The record of some Democrats on voting colossal sums to underwrite and boondoggle tottering monarchies and dictators all over the world gives some justification for branding them as the war party.

Some Republicans have offered some opposition to this indefensible waste of money and resources. At the same time, the opposition of most of the Republican leadership to needed domestic reform and particularly the farm program of Roosevelt gives some justification for regarding that party as the party of depression.

### Hopeful Signs

There are good signs, now, however, from individuals in both parties. Some Republican Congressmen are now carrying the ball on the matter



of strengthening our price support programs and opposing the Benson program. Likewise, some Democratic leaders, congressmen and senators may rid their party of the stigma of being the war party.

On June 30th, this year, Iowa's Senator Guy M. Gillette added to his record of honesty and political independence by a forthright speech explaining his vote against the extension of the Mutual Security Act of 1951. Senator Gillette said he objected to the extension of the Mutual Security Act and gave the following reasons:

"First. That this measure emphasizes more clearly than any legislation heretofore passed the fact that while we continue to pay lip service to efforts to unite the nations of the world in effective coalition for peace, we have actually changed the course of our progress and the goal of our endeavors by emphasis on the development and perpetuation of a military alliance.

"Second. That the policies we are now following are seriously endangering the economic stability of the United States, and thereby undermining the very elements of material strength which are essential to American leadership of a free world.

"Third. That the present measure promulgates and expands the legislation by which the legislative branch of the Government has been delegating its constitutional responsibility for the property of the United States and transferring this responsibility over funds and expenditures to the executive branch of the Government."

Senator Gillette then traced this country's foreign policy actions since the second world war. His conclusion was that we have changed from a country advocating peace to a country which, from all appearances, seems to be advocating war. He supported this conclusion by saying:

"In a recent issue of the U.S. News and World Report there is a list of 27 countries in which we, the United States of America, a leader in the struggle for a peaceful world, have substantial U.S. military forces—and 22 countries in which we have smaller missions or advisory groups. Therefore, at this very moment, after the great advancements that we had made in association with other leading nations in the direction of world security, we find that we have today either sizable forces or smaller military missions in 49 countries of the world.

"And the bill before us which presumes to effectuate these purposes is providing \$4,765,523,000 for military assistance and \$443,634,000 or less than 10 percent, for mutual development and technical progress. Over 90 percent for purely military aid; less than 10 percent for economic assistance. Can any doubt the cause and emphasis of our endeavors?"

"In all candor, Mr. President, I ask in which direction we are going—toward war or toward peace? What are we trying to do in the world—are we trying to extend humanitarian, technical, and rehabilitation aid to friendly nations in order to help them raise their standard of living—help them develop purchasing power and markets for our surpluses—aiding them in building themselves spiritually, morally, intellectually, and commercially, or is our goal under the plausible sugar coating of these announced purposes, the building and arming of a coalition for the sole and only purpose of establishing a powerful military alliance. I readily realize that it has been and will be repeatedly asserted that this alliance of strength of arms is to be used solely for defensive purposes and not for offense. But, Mr.

President, there never has been in history a military alliance built that was not founded on the pretext that its purpose was solely for defense . . .

"My decision to cast my vote this year against the mutual security bill is by way of protest against the whole course our foreign policy is now taking. I am by no means opposed to everything in this bill any more than I am opposed to every thread in the pattern of our foreign policy. I do not oppose assistance to foreign nations. I favor contributing our share of relief and rehabilitation funds for war-ravaged areas, such as Korea. I favor the expenditure of funds through the United Nations for the Arab refugees, and I favor aid to the State of Israel for helping settle her refugees . . .

"But what do I find, Mr. President? A bill designed to make 90 percent of our foreign aid take the form of military equipment and supplies. Instead of building unity among people we are devoted solely to building unity of military command."

### Placing Country Above Party

That indicates a declaration of independence, as it were, from Dulles' bi-partisan war oligarchy, the China Lobby and even more importantly the bi-partisan program of once again refinancing our World War I and World War II enemies. Other leading Democrats who make fine speeches on some domestic issues were instrumental in trying to whitewash American business leaders and monopolies that had secret cartel agreements with the I. G. Farben war machine in Germany. How they conspired to obstruct our national defense prior to World War II and to defeat the program of denazification and decartelization after World War II is a gory record of real subversion. Thanks to the courage of Sen. Joe O'Mahoney who held hearings on cartel legislation, this record is available. (See "TREASON'S PEACE—German Dyes and American Dupes" by Howard Watson Ambruster . . . Beechhurst Press.)

Independent leaders like Gillette, with the support of many others who are not hell-bent on holding a halo over Harry Truman, could still re-establish the principles and program of Roosevelt.

Likewise independent and Republican leaders can redeem themselves and carry on in the best tradition of great independents like Weaver, Pettigrew, La Follette and Norris. Even today there are such independents in the midwest, Robert Morss Lovett, one of the leaders in the anti-imperialist league, our own George Cosson of Iowa, and last but not least the fearless and incorruptible Farmer-Labor Governor and Senator of Minnesota, Elmer Benson.

### A Bi-Partisan Peace Program

Our two-party system is quite meaningless until a realistic alignment is made on the basis of vital issues.

But things are not as hopeless as they may seem in spite of a bi-partisan foreign policy that is nearly all wrong.

Prior to the death of Wendell Willkie and Franklin D. Roosevelt, nearly all Americans were united on a bi-partisan program for world peace. They favored unity among the major powers including, of course, Russia. Unity, through collaboration and mutual trust and understanding among the major powers was the cardinal principle on which U.N. was founded. This was supported by the leaders of both parties. In order to emphasize the urgency of supporting his concept of "One World," Willkie said:



"I tell you that if a man is not, deep in his belly, in favor of the closest possible relations with Britain and Russia, then it does not matter what else he is. Such a man will be anti-labor, even if he praises labor 24 hours a day. He will be anti-labor because he will be working for a constricted America, a less prosperous America. For the very same reason the very same man will also be anti-business, in the deepest sense, even though he may consider himself a servant of business, even though he falls on his knees before business. He will be anti-business because he will be working for a smaller America, a less important America. This is the touchstone to a man's entire position in politics today. Only occasionally does it happen that one issue arises which is so controlling that every other issue is subsidiary to it, and this is it. But it is not enough for a man merely to repeat the right words about world collaboration. He has to be on fire with it. He has to feel, in his belly, that this is the door which will open outward to an expansion of American activity and prosperity. You cannot be wrong on this issue and right on any other."

On this paramount issue that dwarfs all other issues, Democratic Roosevelt agreed with Republican Willkie.

In his last message to Congress, March 1, 1945, reporting on the Yalta Conference, he said that concord and unity among the great powers, particularly between America and the Soviet Union, can be achieved. This is what he said:

"Never before have the major Allies been more closely united not only in their war aims, but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united—to be united with each other, and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality . . . It cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace or a Russian or a French or a Chinese peace . . . The United States will not always have its way 100 percent nor will Russia nor Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal answers . . . But I am sure that under the agreements reached at Yalta, there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before . . . We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict . . . I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this conference as the beginning of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world, in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine—the children and grandchildren of the whole world must live."

### Humanity Can Be United Only Around a Humanitarian Program

Roosevelt was right when he said the Allies were united. The American people were united then too. They are not united now. They can never be united around the present policy of dividing the world into two warring camps and making war on oppressed people who are fighting for the same kind of independence our forefathers fought for in 1776. It is not possible to unite humanity around an anti-humanitarian program.

### The United Nations

Today many people say the U.N. has failed in waging peace. That is wrong. The United States never permitted the U.N. to tackle the matter

of negotiating peace in Korea. The U.N. did fail, but it failed in waging war, not in waging peace.

A great mistake was made in June of 1950 when U.N. Secretary Trygve Lie capitulated to American pressures and abandoned his 10-point peace plan, which had the approval of all the major powers but was rejected by Truman and Acheson. Instead he took sides in the Korean Civil War. When an umpire takes sides, the game is over.

The role of a belligerent or participant doesn't qualify one to be a mediator. The U.N. will not be able to fulfill its historic mission of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war by endorsing a war without any effort at negotiation, nor as long as it functions only as an adjunct of Dulles' State Department which in turn is even today trying to appease Syngman Rhee and the China Lobby.

The U.N. Charter rests on the assumption that all-important actions of the U.N. would have the agreement of the Five Great Powers. Otherwise, the U.N. would be but the agency for the policy of the strongest or richest power. This principle of five-power agreement implies the admission of the People's Republic of China to the U.N.

If the Powers could agree to act in concert, the veto would never be called for, but if they cannot, it is still better to agree to differ than to go to war.

The whole premise and charter of the U.N. were broken and shattered to the four winds by this "war to defend the U.N." as it was called. Well, which was it? Our press also boasted that it was a war against Communism.

Since the Communist countries were a party to the founding of the U.N. and since peace between Communist and Capitalist countries (as expressed in the principle of unanimity in its chief executive body) was the very pre-condition of its existence, how then could the U.N. be justified in a war on Communism? The answer is very easy—it can't. We can take our choice. We can support the principles of the U.N. or we can support Dulles, but we cannot support both.

This fascist-minded agent of world embracing cartels is prostituting the U.N. to the purpose of world division which negates its reason for existence.

### Dulles Must Go

Dulles wants to use the U.N. as the maneuvering ground for the Cold War and as an instrument to enforce foreign policies beneficial to his cartels. Those who refuse to be the servitors of his economic imperialism are branded as enemies. Any move on the part of oppressed people anywhere to change the status quo is construed by him as an attack by Moscow, no matter how remote they may be from Moscow.

Unless the Socialist countries agree to smooth the path of colonial exploitation for Dulles, they are to face a continuation of his cold war. Dulles, therefore, and, more importantly, his war program, must go, for he represents an era to which history is waving an everlasting farewell. Dulles may continue to fool some Americans by parading as a paragon of virtue, but his pious lectures on international morality will not fool the Asians or Europeans while he is toadying to Syngman Rhee and the unrepentent Nazis in West Germany.



## The Iowa Farmers Union

Since this pamphlet will be read by many who are not Farmers Union members, it should include some information on what the Farmers Union is, what its goals are and the positions it has been taking on current affairs.

The Farmers Union is an independent and voluntary organization of farm families who believe in joining hands with their neighbors in a cooperative effort to improve their living standards, and to tackle the many problems that an individual farmer cannot solve alone. It is supported, financed and directed only by farmers. It receives no public money, directly or indirectly, and certainly has never received handouts from business interests.

Our program is not confined to the matter of farm prices and income, but to all of the problems of farm people.

### Our Beliefs

We strive for a social order that thrives on creative diversity, not one that withers on coerced conformity.

We believe that a social order that is to progress must remove all socially controllable inequalities.

We believe in full democracy and equality of consideration and that the result of robbing a minority of civil rights leads inevitably in destroying all civil rights.

We are for family-type farming.

We regard all laboring people as our natural allies, not as our enemies.

We are against the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few individuals and corporations.

We are against the militarization of America, and we have been traditionally against an imperialist foreign policy.

The resolutions adopted at our recent State Conventions provide a good indication of the long-time thinking of our membership.

### Standing Like a Rock

In September, 1950, in the face of the fierce pressures for conforming to the war program, our Convention approved the following resolutions:

#### Big-3 Unity

1. We urge a return at once to the principle BIG THREE unity (United States, Russia and Great Britain) without which the United Nations, as president Roosevelt foresaw, cannot function for peace.

2. We urge a settlement of the present war in Korea and urge the following steps by which that war can be stopped at once:

A) Seat the government of the Peoples Republic of China in the United Nations.

B) Have the UN Security Council call for an immediate truce in the fighting in Korea.

C) Bring representatives of the North Koreans to hearings before the Security Council of the UN in accordance with the UN Charter, Chapter V, Article 32, and work out a basis for establishment of a truly representative government in Korea.

### World Disarmament

3. We call upon our government to abandon the position that military force is the road to peace and urge an immediate conference of the five permanent members of the Security Council for the purpose of working

out an overall agreement ending the cold war in Europe and hot wars in other parts of the world.

We further urge that our governmental leaders proceed to initiate actions leading to the strengthening of the United Nations empowering it to enact, interpret, and enforce international law as well as working out a program of world disarmament.

In 1951, their Resolutions stated:

"We have repeatedly shown that monopoly's complete domination of our economy and our domestic political life has as its counterpart a corporation-sponsored foreign policy, launched over fifty years ago with the United States' acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, Cuba and the Philippines. The Farmers Union has its roots deep in the tradition of struggle against the monopolies and trusts, carried on by the farmers since the days of Abraham Lincoln.

"It is now 14 months since a reactionary foreign policy, based on 'fear itself', culminated in military action five thousand miles from our shores. Since then, the 'plans for total war' have been taken from their locked compartments, and mobilization has proceeded with a forced draft. By mid-1952 this would saddle the American people with an annual armament bill of \$65 billion. The impact of the war mobilization and its accompanying inflation is now the chief factor in the family farmers' many serious problems."

". . . In the course of the history-making Populist Movement, led by our forbears, it was recognized that the farmers on the plains had to achieve unity with the sharecroppers and small farmers of the South. It was recognized that irrespective of color, the farmers of the North had a common bond with the working farmers of the South. During the years that followed, the monopolists have schemed and plotted to divide not only the farmers in the North from the sharecroppers in the South, but also the workers in the city from the farmers on the land. We refuse to forget the lessons of the past. We know that we are many, and that the war-makers, the monopolists, and the purveyors of bigotry are few. We will not heed the white supremacists who seek to put over the old doctrine of 'divide and rule.' We reject the trickery of those who today, under the banner of pretending to fight for the family farmers, leave out the sharecroppers in the South. By deceiving us into selling out the sharecroppers in the South, and then the part time and small farmers, these misleaders are actually trying to put over the Chamber of Commerce's plan to eliminate two-thirds of the families from the land. We urge the unity of all tillers of the soil, North and South, Negro and white. We urge unity with our brothers and sisters who work in the city factories so that all may enjoy a better standard of living."

The People's Republic of China should be admitted to the United Nations to participate in discussions toward peaceful settlement of issues.

We must abandon the idea that military force is the road to peace. Instead, we must champion world disarmament at every opportunity.

We must come to realize clearly that guns and atom bombs are no solution for hunger, disease and poverty against which millions of people in Asia and Africa are in revolt.



We must seek a fair solution to the present trouble areas of the world, such as Korea and Germany. In the case of Germany, we ought to return to the principles of the Potsdam agreements for a disarmed, neutralized Germany, with its industrial potential used for constructive purposes instead of for another German war machine.

Instead of the arms race, we must insist from our politicians that they prepare plans for constructive programs, such as resource development, roads, hospitals and farm programs, to curb depression and provide employment.

Just as we insist that President Eisenhower dismiss Ezra Benson, we must also demand that the President dismiss Secretary of State Dulles, the Munich minded appeaser who is the braintruster for the cold war program.

We must maintain some resemblance and relationship between the things we do and say and the things in which we deeply believe.

We must keep our minds open to new truths and new developments. Certainly, this includes atomic energy which we insist must be used for construction, not destruction, for atomic blessings, not atomic blastings.

We must have the courage to look out over the scene of national and international life and test events by applying the plumb-line of righteousness—and to oppose unflinchingly those acts that are in defiance of moral law.

For after all, the real patriots are those citizens who dare to uphold the law even when government leaders break it.

We must not permit our attention to be diverted by other issues. For when we face questions of life or death—and we do—then all other differences pale into insignificance before the magnitude of the consequences at stake.

If we want to live, so as to have no regrets for years without purpose; if we want to give life and strength to the noblest struggle ever waged by man, then join our movement for Peace and Parity. Join the Farmers Union.

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### Why We Have Depressions

When Charles Brannan was promoting the farm plan which bore his name he advanced it as a means of helping prevent a depression, by saying "depressions are farm led and farm fed." Experience after World War I, and again today, gives weight to Brannan's theory, as agriculture was the first section of our economy to suffer a sharp decline. However, the causes of depressions have been debated for many years, with the real reasons always hidden from the people by the big business press and writers. They would have the people believe, perhaps, that depressions are caused by spots on the sun—and articles supporting this fantastic idea have actually been published in magazines which pretend to be serious.

But the reasons for depressions have their roots in our modern industrial system itself. In the pamphlet the "Contest" the problem was stated in this manner:

"Let us state the problem this way: To roll up ever increasing profits the owners of the great monopoly corporations employ every method known to man to get their workers to produce more and more in the

same length of time. It is clear that only a fraction of the day is required for a worker to produce value equivalent to his wages. The rest of the time worked goes to make up the profits of the company. Thus, it is easy to see that the great majority of the people, who by their work produce everything, can buy back only a fraction of what they produce. Because of this basic contradiction between the people's great ability to produce and their inability to buy back the results of their production a situation is always developing where unsold goods pile up in the warehouses, workers are discharged and farm prices hit the skids. Then, with 'starvation amidst plenty,' farmers lose their farms because they have farmed too well, and have produced too much—not to feed the people—but for the market to consume."

When the common people begin to feel the "squeeze," especially the farmers, spokesmen for big business in agriculture tell them they should work harder, be more "efficient," and produce more in the same day or month or season, more per acre, more per dollar invested. This, they say would solve their financial problems. But, they fail to see that their "cure" only intensifies the disease, because it creates more products which pour onto a market already glutted because of the lack of purchasing power of the people.

At the same time the big business political schemers seek to create more and more markets for monopoly-produced industrial products by having the government increase purchase for armament to be paid in the form of taxation by people who are already overburdened with taxes.

One reason armament is considered such a "blessing" by the big business interests as a means to "head off a depression" is because that when groups of organized people question this course of action they are usually branded as "unpatriotic" "pro-German," as in the time before World War I, or "pro-Russian," as now. Furthermore, spending for armament by the government means super profits for big business. But spending for armament and war does not head off a depression long, it actually makes a depression more devastating when it strikes, and more certain.

The 1953 convention of the Iowa Farmers Union said that both, "in spite of, and because of, the billions poured into the economic blood stream for war the conditions of the farmers and city workers have become rapidly worse."

Today this is even more clear as a depression is already well on its way.

On the other hand, spending by the government for productive purposes, with a shift in the tax burden from the poor to the wealthy, so that the super profits raked in by the big monopolies can be used to build up the living standards of the actual producers of the country's wealth, would cushion the shock of a depression. That's why a full parity farm program would aid greatly to head off a depression, while at the same time giving farmers more of the fruits of their labor.



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**PEACE AND PARITY** is Fred Stover's third contribution in pamphlet form to the people's struggles for a real farm program and world peace. His first (now out of print), **ATOMIC BLESSING OR ATOMIC BLASTING**, was his report to the Iowa Farmers Union annual convention in 1950. He warned of a war which would destroy the world and pointed the way made possible by science when the atom was harnessed—a world of peace, progress and plenty for all.

His second pamphlet, **THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE PLUNDERERS**, published in 1951, traced the course of the farmers' struggles since Lincoln, and showed with indisputable evidence that the foreign counterpart of big business' domestic program was the super-exploitation of colonial people. Both programs were put into operation by keeping farmers and working people in America fighting one another.

**PEACE AND PARITY** takes up where the **CONTEST** left off.

**PEACE AND PARITY**, 15¢ each . . . 100 or more 10¢ each, post paid.

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